



# Security Council

Seventy-seventh year

**9183**<sup>rd</sup> meeting

Friday, 4 November 2022, 3 p.m.

New York

*Provisional*

---

<i>President:</i>	Mr. Agyeman/Ms. Oppong-Ntiri . . . . .	(Ghana)
<i>Members:</i>	Albania . . . . .	Mr. Hoxha
	Brazil . . . . .	Mr. Costa Filho
	China . . . . .	Mr. Zhang Jun
	France . . . . .	Mr. De Rivière
	Gabon . . . . .	Mrs. Koumba Pambo
	India . . . . .	Mrs. Kamboj
	Ireland . . . . .	Ms. Moran
	Kenya . . . . .	Mr. Kiboino
	Mexico . . . . .	Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez
	Norway . . . . .	Ms. Juul
	Russian Federation . . . . .	Ms. Evstigneeva
	United Arab Emirates . . . . .	Mr. Abushahab
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland . .	Dame Barbara Woodward
	United States of America . . . . .	Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield

## Agenda

Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea

---

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the translation of speeches delivered in other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room U-0506 (verbatimrecords@un.org). Corrected records will be reissued electronically on the Official Document System of the United Nations (<http://documents.un.org>).



*The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.*

### **Adoption of the agenda**

*The agenda was adopted.*

### **Non-proliferation/Democratic People's Republic of Korea**

**The President:** In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representatives of Japan and the Republic of Korea to participate in this meeting.

In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite Mr. Khaled Khiari, Assistant Secretary-General for the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific in the Departments of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and Peace Operations, to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I give the floor to Mr. Khiari.

**Mr. Khiari:** According to various Government sources, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea launched an unprecedented number of ballistic missiles and other types of systems on 2 and 3 November. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has yet to publicly provide details of those launches.

One of the missiles launched on 3 November was assessed to be an intercontinental ballistic missile. It reportedly covered a range of 760 kilometres and reached an apogee of around 1,920 kilometres, indicating that the launch may not have been successful. One of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea ballistic missiles launched on 2 November reportedly impacted in waters in proximity of the territorial sea of the Republic of Korea.

The Secretary-General strongly condemns the launch of a ballistic missile of reported intercontinental range by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as well as the barrage of various missiles over recent days. He calls on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to immediately cease any further reckless acts and to comply fully with its international obligations under relevant Security Council resolutions.

It is troubling that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has consistently disregarded any consideration for international flight or maritime safety. While

the Democratic People's Republic of Korea National Aviation Administration stated on 8 October that its missile launch did not pose a risk to civil aviation or the region, aircraft operators are required to assess safety of their own flight operations. To meet that obligation, operators rely on coordination among air traffic services authorities, as well as the promulgation of timely information on hazards.

The Secretary-General is deeply concerned about the tension on the Korean Peninsula and the increase in confrontational rhetoric, including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's messaging related to nuclear-weapon use. This is the ninth time the Council has met to discuss the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 2022. Following our previous briefing on 5 October (see S/PV.9146), the Democratic People's Republic of Korea claimed that its seven earlier missile launch events were all part of "tactical nuclear operation units" end quote.

While all concerned seek to avoid an unintended escalation, the spate of missile launches and military exercises contributes to a negative action-reaction cycle. In order to lower the risk of miscalculation and reduce tensions in the region, it is critical to immediately strengthen communication channels, including inter-Korean and military-to-military communications. The Secretariat remains in close contact with all parties, including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Given the potential risks associated with any military confrontation, in the exercise of its primary responsibility, the Security Council needs to do all it can to prevent an escalation. Unity in the Security Council is critical. Security Council unity also creates an opportunity to seek off-ramps and sustained diplomatic engagement.

The Secretary-General urges the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to immediately return to the negotiating table. He also urges the key parties to resume their diplomatic efforts, with a view to achieving sustainable peace and the complete and verifiable denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

Separately, the Secretary-General remains concerned about the humanitarian situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The United Nations system, in coordination with international and humanitarian partners, is ready to send staff and assistance to help the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea address medical and

humanitarian needs, including those related to the coronavirus disease pandemic. In order to allow for a timely and effective response, we reiterate our call for the unimpeded entry of international staff and humanitarian supplies.

Let me conclude by reiterating that the unity of the Security Council in this matter is essential to ease tensions and overcome the diplomatic impasse and the negative action-reaction cycle.

**The President:** I thank Mr. Khiari for his briefing.

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements.

**Mrs. Thomas-Greenfield** (United States of America): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his informative briefing.

Over the past week and a half, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has exacerbated an extremely worrisome trend that we have seen all year: an increased number of launches in flagrant violation of the relevant Security Council resolutions, destabilizing and threatening rhetoric and continued escalations. The United States condemns in the strongest possible terms all 13 recent ballistic missile launches by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea since 27 October. But the latest test of an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — the seventh ICBM this year — is particularly concerning, as is the unprecedented impact of a ballistic missile just about 50 kilometres, or 30 miles, from the Republic of Korea's shoreline. This is about more than just advancing the unlawful military capabilities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and undermining the global non-proliferation regime. This is also about the Democratic People's Republic of Korea trying to purposely raise tensions and stoke fear in its neighbours.

Let me therefore be clear. These actions are not the actions of a responsible State. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has now launched a staggering 59 ballistic missiles this year. That is right: 59. For a United Nations Member State to so flagrantly violate the relevant Security Council resolutions and all that the Charter of the United Nations stands for is appalling. Equally appalling is the Council's deafening silence on this issue. Thirteen Council members have joined in condemning the unlawful actions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea since the beginning of the

year. And 13 Council members have joined in voting to impose costs on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that would impede its unlawful weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile pursuits, while seeking new avenues to improve humanitarian assistance to the country's people.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, however, has enjoyed blanket protection from two members of the Council. Those members have bent over backwards to justify the repeated violations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. And, in turn, they have enabled the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and made a mockery of the Council. This cannot stand. The risks to the region and the world are simply too great. I want to remind the Council of our responsibility to protect global peace and security, defend the global non-proliferation regime and uphold Security Council resolutions. You do not get to abandon Security Council responsibilities because the Democratic People's Republic of Korea might sell you weapons to fuel your war of aggression in Ukraine, or because you think they make a good regional buffer to the United States.

We have heard those two Council members claim that the United States and the Republic of Korea have stoked tensions on the Korean peninsula with military exercises. That is nothing but a regurgitation of propaganda by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and a misleading narrative. The United States and the Republic of Korea are engaging in long-standing defensive military exercises that pose no threat to anyone, never mind the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

In contrast, just last month, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea said that its flurry of recent launches were the simulated use of tactical battlefield nuclear weapons to "hit and wipe out" potential United States and Republic of Korea targets. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is simply using that as an excuse to continue to advance its unlawful programmes. Even in the face of the escalations of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the United States remains committed to a diplomatic solution. We have conveyed to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea our request to engage in talks at all levels of our Government. Despite the lack of engagement from Pyongyang, we will continue to pursue meaningful dialogue. We call on the Democratic People's Republic

of Korea to abandon its provocative behaviour and at long last turn to diplomacy.

The credibility of the Council is at risk. The security of every United Nations Member State is at risk. We must fully implement the relevant Security Council resolutions necessary to impede the weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile advancements of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Full implementation includes holding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea accountable for its violations of the resolutions, as we unanimously committed to doing in resolution 2397 (2017), following an ICBM launch. I urge all Council members to condemn and address the dangerous and unlawful behaviour of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This moment demands Council unity.

**Mr. Hoxha** (Albania): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for insightful briefing.

It is clear for everyone, here and outside the Security Council, that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues undeterred in its path of blatant violations of Security Council resolutions and escalation of tensions in the peninsula and beyond. The 23 missiles launched in less than two hours on Wednesday were not just the largest deployment on a single day, but also a dramatic escalation and completely reckless behaviour by the Pyongyang regime. They are part of exactly 59 ballistic missiles launched by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in less than a year in a totally unlawful, unjustified, unprovoked and unprecedented manner.

They demonstrate that the totalitarian regime in Pyongyang is growing into a persistent threat to international peace and security in open defiance, disregard and contempt for international law, the Security Council and its resolutions. Each and every one of those launches represents flagrant and alarming violations of the relevant Security Council resolutions. The Security Council has a duty to take a unified and firm stance, as it has done before, against such persistent violations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea if it wants to be relevant and remain credible.

We have warned before that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will read the patience and the silence of the Council as a licence to do more of the same, and here we are lamentably. It is time to once again regret the fact that a draft resolution (S/2022/431) with a strong message to show the limits of rogue behaviour

was vetoed — indeed, doubly vetoed. What was the response? It was more missiles, launches and risks.

It continues to send the wrong message to the regime of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which it reads as permission to continue to break the law, with impunity. Albania condemns in the strongest terms the reckless and unlawful actions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which pose a threat to its peaceful neighbours and to international peace and security. We call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to immediately cease such dangerous and intolerable escalation.

We find deeply disturbing and distressing the steps taken by the regime and its leadership to escalate further and make preparations for another nuclear test, with unknown consequences. Those actions compromise the security of South Korean people, the Korean peninsula and the whole region. We cannot afford to allow such actions to continue and not hold the Democratic People's Republic of Korea accountable for such blatant violations. The acceleration of escalation by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, its proliferation policies and nuclear threats should be countered by an immediate, unified and effective response by the Security Council.

The failure to respond decisively is tantamount to dereliction of duty by the Council and will further erode its credibility and relevance. The world does not want, and neither does it need, a sleepy Council when a country threatens peace and security. The world does not need a muted Council that is unable to perform its core mandate. Member States and international public opinion do not want a Council that is self-paralysed, when it should be ready to take action and deliver on its mandate. It will serve only to embolden the Kim Jong Un regime to continue with its escalation and threats.

That is why it is imperative that the Council send an unambiguous and strong message to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that it will never condone or reward its reckless behaviour. It cannot be done by hiding; it must be done by standing up for international law. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea regime does not want to listen to reason. That is why sanctions are part of the necessary means that the international community is left with. They are the only means left. The international community expects them to be fully implemented.

Let me conclude by reiterating our call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to comply with Security Council resolutions, stop its reckless provocations and put an end to its weapons of mass destruction, ballistic missile and nuclear programmes in a comprehensive, verifiable and irreversible manner. The return to meaningful dialogue and diplomacy is the only way forward, and the Security Council should make that very clear to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Mr. De Rivièrè** (France) (*spoke in French*): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing.

France condemns in the strongest terms the launching of 29 missiles, including several ballistic missiles, by North Korea over the past three days. The current escalation is unprecedented, and the new provocations are unacceptable.

France is particularly concerned about the fact that a ballistic missile landed on the South Korean side of the maritime border, only a few kilometres from the coast. Similarly, France was also dismayed to learn of the firing of a ballistic missile said to be of intercontinental range on 3 November. France would like to assure South Korean and Japanese authorities of its full solidarity in the light of Pyongyang's destabilizing actions.

The increase in the number of ballistic tests since the beginning of the year should be cause for concern for everyone. Each of those launches is a violation of resolutions that were adopted unanimously by the Council. This year, North Korea improved its ballistic capabilities with the stated aim of developing a tactical nuclear programme. It uses increasingly aggressive nuclear rhetoric, as evidenced by the September update of its nuclear doctrine. Inevitably, its uranium enrichment activities are ongoing. On the ground, at Yongbyon and Punggye-ri, the International Atomic Energy Agency has observed constant activity and preparations for a seventh nuclear test.

North Korea evades sanctions daily at sea, but also through its cyberattacks, which provide direct funding for its programmes. It is therefore important to maintain the pressure and adapt it in certain areas. Rewarding violations of the resolutions by easing sanctions would be irresponsible.

Let us recall that last month North Korea fired a ballistic missile as the Security Council met, following a serious violation of Japan's territorial integrity. Let us

face it — division in the Council provides North Korea with cover to continue its provocations. The Council has a historic responsibility in the area of non-proliferation, and North Korea is a threat to all its members.

France will therefore continue to call for North Korea to return to the negotiating table quickly and in good faith in order to achieve complete, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization. France will encourage the necessary dialogue among all parties in the region and spare no effort to ensure that the Council speaks with one voice in response to this unprecedented escalation.

**Ms. Moran** (Ireland): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his very useful briefing.

Ireland condemns the recent missile launches by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, in violation of Security Council resolutions. The 25 missiles launched in less than 24 hours, including the seventh intercontinental ballistic missile launch this year, demonstrates the dangerous path the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is taking, with serious potential risks to maritime and air traffic, its neighbours and the civilian population.

Those launches show the continuing, unprecedented escalation of the illegal missile activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea over the past year. Coupled with the threat to neighbouring countries, the escalation continues to represent a serious threat to peace and security in the region and beyond. It is deeply worrisome that, for the first time, such launches have landed within the Republic of Korea's exclusive economic zone.

Rather than taking up genuine offers of talks by the United States and South Korea, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has sought to raise tensions through those launches. It has sought to advance its illegal missile and nuclear programmes, with the declared aim of developing tactical nuclear weapons. That represents a serious threat to international peace and security and seeks to undermine the Security Council's authority.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea can never, and will never, be accepted as a nuclear-weapon State. We call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to immediately end its destabilizing actions and ballistic missile programme and to meet its obligations on complete, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization.

We repeat the Council's call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to return to compliance

with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, meet its safeguards obligations with the International Atomic Energy Agency and adhere to the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty without delay.

Genuine dialogue is the only way to lasting peace, security and stability on the Korean peninsula. United States and South Korean offers are on the table, and it is only the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that continues to reject that path. In the meantime, the missile launches of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea underline the need for the full and effective implementation of United Nations sanctions. We urge the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to engage with the United Nations on the humanitarian situation in the country and allow the immediate return of United Nations and other humanitarian actors to assess needs and ensure that necessary assistance can be provided.

The choices and actions of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have created a deeply troubling situation for the people of that country and the region as a whole. We urge the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to join the international community in seeking a peaceful diplomatic solution.

**Ms. Juul** (Norway): First, let me thank Assistant Secretary-General Khaled Khiari for his briefing.

Norway condemns in the strongest terms the launch of a record number of missiles over the past few days. Among the numerous missiles, one ballistic missile landed in the exclusive economic zone of the Republic of Korea, closer to South Korean soil than ever before. Another, assessed to be an intercontinental ballistic missile system, was launched in the direction of Japan.

Since the beginning of this year, the Democratic Republic of Korea has carried out an unprecedented number of ballistic missile tests, increasing in frequency and intensity. We are deeply disturbed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's continued development of its nuclear and ballistic missile programmes. The recent launches raise tensions, threaten peace and stability in the region and beyond and make diplomatic efforts more difficult. Those launches also endanger civil aviation and maritime traffic in the region. That pattern of behaviour is unacceptable and cannot continue.

It is also regrettable that the Council has been silent lately, even as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues its destabilizing activities and intensifies its violations of the relevant Council

resolutions. We reiterate our call for the Council to show unity in responding to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's escalatory behaviour. Norway believes that diplomacy is the right — and only — way forward for sustained peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. For that to happen, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea must choose the path of dialogue.

Members of the Council have continued to show that they take the humanitarian situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea seriously. Sanctions are an essential part of our efforts to slow the development of and to counter North Korea's prohibited weapons programmes. The sanctions measures are not intended to have adverse humanitarian consequences on the civilian population; they are an essential part of our efforts to slow the development of and to counter North Korea's prohibited weapons programmes. Indeed, requests for humanitarian exemptions are swiftly processed in the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006), while the provisions contained in the draft resolution discussed on 26 May (S/2022/431) would have broadened the humanitarian exemption mechanism considerably.

Norway remains worried about the humanitarian situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We call on the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to cooperate with the international community and enable humanitarian support to reach the North Korean people, including access for the Resident Coordinator and United Nations and other international agencies. We further call on all Member States to fully implement existing Security Council resolutions on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

**Dame Barbara Woodward** (United Kingdom): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing.

This week's salvo of missile launches by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, including an intercontinental ballistic missile, is a further serious escalation. I join the Secretary-General in condemning those launches unequivocally.

I propose that the Council should respond by taking three steps.

First, we should condemn those actions clearly for what they are — an unacceptable threat to international peace and security — and reinforce the importance of implementing the Council's sanctions in full.

Secondly, we should recall that the cost of those illicit launches is being borne directly by the North Korean people. The millions of dollars expended on this week's launches alone could feed North Korea's population for weeks. We echo calls on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to allow aid to flow freely into the country, and we note that sanctions exemptions remain in place to support expedited humanitarian assistance to the North Korean people.

Thirdly, we should renew our call for North Korea to engage meaningfully with offers from the United States and the Republic of Korea for dialogue. Diplomacy is the only route to sustained peace on the peninsula.

We may hear one or two members of the Council seeking to equate lawful defensive military exercises with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's escalatory actions this week. Defensive exercises are safe when they are notified to other States in advance and when they operate within defined areas, as South Korean and United States exercises have done. What is not safe is the launch of missiles that all members of the Council have agreed many times that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea must not possess. It is not safe when those missiles threaten to overfly other States, causing alerts and alarm in those countries. It is not safe when missiles land approximately 60 kilometres from the Republic of Korea's coastline.

We urge the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to end those provocations.

**Mr. Costa Filho** (Brazil): At the outset, I would like to thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing.

We find ourselves in this Chamber again, almost exactly a month after having discussed a long-range missile launch by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, among a series of other unlawful launches. Since our previous meeting (see S/PV.9146), the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has launched over 30 missiles, including an intensive 23-missile salvo a few days ago, as well as an intended intercontinental test on 2 November. Brazil condemns, in the strongest terms, all of those ballistic missile launches, which violate the relevant Security Council resolutions.

It is hard to overstate the gravity of the situation. Beyond the threat posed by the continued expansion of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's arsenal,

we see two classes of risks in the recent missile activity by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

First, there is the risk from the test of experimental systems, especially over populated areas. We take note, with great concern, of reports that the latest intercontinental ballistic missile launch may have failed after the separation of the second missile stage. Missile failure during overflight of populated areas presents a grave and unacceptable risk to the civilians in the region, as well as to ships and aircraft. Once again, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea did not issue any notice to airmen mission prior to the launches. Any missile overflight of Japan is a danger to millions of people living in that country, including our community of 200,000 Brazilians.

Furthermore, we see a second class of risk in the repeated and intensive testing of established systems, such as short-range ballistic missiles. Even though those systems may be less prone to failure, the volume of testing and quantity of launches in 2022 scale up to a significant chance of technical or human error. We take note with alarm of reports that a short-range ballistic missile may have landed 57 kilometres from the coastal city of Sokcho, in the Republic of Korea. The smallest miscalculation in that launch could have been fatal.

The situation calls for urgent action. The immediate priority must be to bring down tensions on the peninsula so as to reduce the risk of a fatal accident with unforeseeable consequences. We urge the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to not only comply with all relevant Security Council resolutions, but also to abide by the 2018 comprehensive military agreement with the Republic of Korea, which has acted as an important buffer against military escalation. We further urge restraint by all parties in the region in order to avoid a dangerous spiral of escalation.

While Brazil condemns all of the illegal launches by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, we believe that responses should be measured and should seek to avoid tit-for-tat military action that could further contribute to elevating risks on the peninsula.

We understand the concerns of those who say that one should not reward bad behaviour by diplomatic outreach. Yet diplomacy is not a reward. It is the fabric of international society and our best tool for avoiding the traps of misperception and miscalculation. It is the reason that the Organization was created. And it is the reason we are in this Chamber today. We are

here because we believe that it is in our own interest to engage in diplomacy, including — or perhaps especially — with possible rivals or competitors.

The Council should do more — not only to condemn, where appropriate, but also to de-escalate and establish channels of engagement. It may seem like there are two incompatible approaches being proposed in this Chamber: one, to condemn and, another, to engage. Yet these are not opposites. Engagement is not an alternative path. It is complementary, essential and part of the tool set entrusted to us by the Charter of the United Nations. If we are to have any hope of establishing a lasting and stable peace on the peninsula, we must be able to do both.

**Mr. Zhang Jun** (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): I listened carefully to Assistant Secretary-General Khiari's briefing.

China has been following closely the developments on the Korean peninsula and is deeply concerned about the escalating tensions. Against the backdrop of the current complex and volatile international situation, we hope that all parties concerned will remain calm, exercise restraint, be cautious in their words and deeds and refrain from taking any action that may exacerbate tensions and lead to miscalculation.

The turn of events and the root causes that have led to the current situation on the peninsula are clear to all. The recent launch activities of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea do not exist in isolation and are directly related to the words and deeds of relevant parties. After a five-year hiatus, the United States and relevant countries relaunched their large-scale joint military air exercises, with hundreds of military aircraft involved. In its 2022 Nuclear Posture Review, the United States Department of Defence envisaged the use of nuclear weapons by the Democratic Republic of Korea, claiming that ending that regime was one of the main goals of its nuclear strategy. The United States has also promoted cooperation with relevant countries on nuclear submarines, claiming that it would deploy strategic weapons in the region.

The United States and others claim that the military exercises are defensive in nature, while the Democratic People's Republic of Korea emphasizes that its development of national defence capabilities is necessary for self-defence. If each side continues to stick to its position and refuses to give way to one another, the situation on the peninsula will fall into

a vicious circle and be trapped in a predicament. The evolution of the situation there since 2018 shows that only by resuming dialogue and consultation can we ease tensions on the peninsula, break the vicious circle and build mutual trust among all parties to fully resolve the predicament. We call on the United States side to stop unilaterally playing up tensions and confrontation, take responsibility through action and demonstrate sincerity by earnestly responding to the legitimate and reasonable concerns of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea so as to create conditions for the resumption of meaningful dialogue.

The Security Council should play a constructive role on the Korean peninsula issue rather than always focusing on pressure. Discussions in the Council should promote stability and prevent chaos on the peninsula, help restart dialogue and negotiation and resolve the humanitarian and livelihood difficulties faced by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, rather than create obstacles for it. Under the current circumstances, the Council should in particular make concrete efforts to ease the atmosphere of confrontation, ease tensions and promote a political settlement. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea draft resolution jointly submitted by China and Russia in the Council seeks to ease the humanitarian situation and livelihood problem in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, create an atmosphere for all parties to enhance mutual trust and resume dialogue and inject impetus into the political settlement of the Korean peninsula issue. The draft resolution remains on the table, and we hope all parties will actively consider it.

As a close neighbour of the peninsula, China is greatly concerned about the situation there and remains committed to maintaining peace and stability on the peninsula, denuclearizing it and addressing issues through dialogue and consultation. We once again call on all parties concerned to squarely face the root cause of the prolonged impasse on the peninsula, follow the dual-track approach and the principle of phased and synchronized action, keep moving in the direction of political settlement and resolve each other's concerns in a balanced manner through dialogue and negotiation, meet each other halfway and work hard to prevent the situation from escalating. China is willing to continue to play a constructive role to that end.

**Mr. De la Fuente Ramírez** (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): We thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari

for his briefing and welcome the delegations of Japan and the Republic of Korea to this meeting.

Less than a month ago, the Security Council met (see S/PV.9146) for a similar situation in the face of the launch of a long-range ballistic missile. We note with great concern the information confirming that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea launched a ballistic missile that landed in the exclusive economic zone of the Republic of Korea and carried out an additional failed launch of a missile assessed as an intercontinental missile. It also launched a score of other missiles of varying range. There has not been a situation this serious, with regard to the number of launches, although we recall that last October, a launched missile did overfly Japanese territory.

It is alarming that Security Council resolutions are being violated systematically without any consequences imposed by the Council. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea continues to strengthen and develop its nuclear and ballistic programme, including through its new nuclear legislation, to the detriment of the disarmament and non-proliferation architecture. The sanctions regime is likewise not being respected, and its evasion has allowed resources to continue to be channelled to such programmes.

If the Security Council is unable to condemn the challenges to its authority in a united voice, we believe that it should at least pronounce itself in favour of an urgent diplomatic dialogue towards a comprehensive and negotiated solution. We believe that perhaps there we will find some needed convergence and agreement so that the united voice of the Council can be expressed, which is sorely needed at this time.

Mexico will continue to reiterate its call to exercise maximum restraint, to not carry out actions that will result in further resolution violations of the resolutions or further confrontation, and we insist therefore on the holding of a dialogue with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that will lead to the complete, verifiable and irreversible denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

**Mr. Kiboino** (Kenya): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khaled Khiari for his briefing and welcome the participation of representatives of Japan and the Republic of Korea in today's meeting.

Kenya once again expresses its profound concern about the now perilously escalating situation in the

Korean peninsula. This year alone, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has launched 59 ballistic missiles, in flagrant violation of multiple Security Council resolutions. In addition, there are disconcerting indications that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is developing its nuclear-weapons capabilities, with the prospect of a nuclear test in the coming days. Those relentless and provocative actions are, unfortunately, driving the region to an unnecessary arms race that presents a grave threat to international peace and security.

Given the prevailing situation, a slight miscalculation could plunge the Korean peninsula into unprecedented turmoil, and the resultant global socioeconomic and security repercussions would be catastrophic for all countries near and far. Consequently, Kenya reiterates its call for the halting of any further provocative acts in the Korean peninsula, in compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions. We further reiterate that unconditional and genuine dialogue that considers the concerns of all the parties in the region is the only viable path out of that fragile situation. In that regard, Kenya urges the international community, particularly the States with influence on both sides, to help restart diplomatic negotiations.

It is disturbing that the provocations are happening against the backdrop of the deteriorating humanitarian situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We once again call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to prioritize the needs of its people over costly military ventures. Meanwhile, all other parties concerned should consider the humanitarian plight of Democratic People's Republic of Korea citizens in all their actions and protect them from unnecessary harm.

**Mrs. Koumba Pambo** (Gabon) (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Khaled Khiari for his briefing and welcome the participation of the Permanent Representatives of Korea and Japan in today's meeting.

The situation on the Korean peninsula is very worrisome. On 2 November, North Korea once again launched a number of ballistic missiles, one of which landed near the coast of South Korea. Gabon condemns those missile launches, which constitute a violation of the relevant Security Council resolutions and exacerbate tensions throughout the entire region. The new missile launch, the latest in a long list of launches since the beginning of this year, is an obvious threat that is eliciting strong reactions, especially as it comes

at a time when military manoeuvres, particularly aerial manoeuvres, are taking place in the region. The increase in tensions and the scale of the threat to the security of the Korean peninsula has mobilized the attention of the international community and requires an urgent and concerted response from the Council. Gabon is firmly committed to the non-proliferation regime and to peace on the Korean peninsula.

As we have said before, using missile strikes and shows of force as diplomacy is not a solution. It is neither constructive nor viable. It fuels tensions and reignites the concerns of the peoples affected. It brings significant risks and dangers, including the nuclear risk. My country calls for de-escalation and dialogue without conditions in order to reach a solution that guarantees peace and the elimination of the nuclear threat on the Korean peninsula. Gabon opposes the use of or threat of use of nuclear weapons. Our view is that such weapons should not be manufactured or produced because of their horrible potential for destruction.

We cannot stress enough that a solution to the crisis on the Korean peninsula can be achieved only through dialogue and negotiations. We continue to call on the parties to engage in diplomatic negotiations and to resume talks on the basis of the paths laid out in 2017 in order to reach a negotiated security solution for the Korean peninsula.

**Mr. Abushahab** (United Arab Emirates): I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing and welcome the participation of Japan and the Republic of Korea in today's meeting.

We are once again meeting at a moment of heightened tensions on the Korean peninsula. Over the past few days, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has continued its provocative and dangerous behaviour by launching a further series of ballistic missiles, in violation of multiple Security Council resolutions. The launch on 3 November of what is assessed to be another intercontinental ballistic missile would be the seventh such launch in 2022 alone. We must not look at those latest launches in isolation. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea's reckless and irresponsible behaviour has continued undeterred for too long. The Security Council must not treat this situation as business as usual while the people of Japan, the Republic of Korea and the region live under the constant threat of imminent danger.

It is now more important than ever for us to come together to address the threat posed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea must respect international law, particularly the Security Council resolutions that prohibit it from ballistic missile launches and nuclear tests. We condemn those unlawful missile launches and any other actions that undermine the global non-proliferation architecture. We urge the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to choose diplomacy and dialogue over provocation and escalation. In that context, we remain deeply concerned about the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's apparent plans to conduct a nuclear test. We call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to refrain from conducting further illegal tests, return to compliance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, abandon all of its nuclear-weapon and related missile programmes, implement the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards and fulfil its denuclearization obligations.

The Security Council must redouble its efforts to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula and safeguard the global non-proliferation regime. While the Council's sanctions have evidently not prevented the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from developing its nuclear and ballistic capabilities, they have undoubtedly helped slow the pace of such development. We urge all Member States to uphold the sanctions regime pursuant to resolution 1718 (2006) and to take all reasonable measures to prevent the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from continuing to evade sanctions. To that end, we are ready to work with all Council members and to address any concerns that may arise from measures taken by the Council.

The humanitarian situation of the people of North Korea remains deeply troubling. It is regrettable that the country's very limited resources continue to be directed towards its military capabilities rather than the urgent humanitarian and development needs of the North Korean people. We once again call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to cooperate with the United Nations and the international community to alleviate the humanitarian situation of its people by facilitating the entry of humanitarian aid and allowing relief organizations and the Resident Coordinator of the United Nations to carry out their vital activities within the country.

Finally, the United Arab Emirates believes that the Security Council should not be idle in the face of

the nuclear threat posed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's actions.

**Ms. Evstigneeva** (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We carefully listened to the briefing delivered by Assistant Secretary-General Khaled Khiari. However, we note with regret that, as in the past, the United Nations representative did not give a full picture of the situation. The risks in the region today are too high for us focus solely on one-sided information.

Russia opposes any military activity that threatens the security of the Korean peninsula and the countries of North-East Asia. We note with regret that the situation on the Korean peninsula has recently deteriorated significantly, the reason for which is clear: Washington's desire to force Pyongyang into unilateral disarmament by implementing sanctions and exerting force.

On 31 October, the United States and the Republic of Korea began an exercise of an unprecedented scale that involved approximately 240 modern military aircraft. That was essentially a rehearsal for conducting massive strikes on the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and neither was it a one-off. Large-scale military training activities by the United States began there in August. At the end of September, exercises by the United States, the Republic of Korea and Japan were conducted in the Sea of Japan using a nuclear missile carrier and providing training to target critical infrastructure on the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

There are irresponsible discussions under way at the leadership level of those countries about the deployment of American means of deterrence, including of a nuclear nature, on the Korean peninsula and in the region. In that regard, it is clear that Pyongyang's missile launches are a consequence of the United States short-sighted confrontational military activity around the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, harming both its partners in the region and the situation in North-East Asia as a whole.

Moreover, the situation on the Korean peninsula cannot be considered in isolation from the complex processes that are currently taking place in that part of the world. We cannot help but note the increasingly pushy promotion by Washington of its unilateral security doctrine in the Asia-Pacific region, which serves only to create new risks for the countries of the region and seeks to divide them according to the

principle of "whoever is not with us is against us." Part of those activities involve the establishment of new military blocs, such as the alliance among the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, which raises serious doubts about the good intentions of those States. Pyongyang shares those doubts, as such actions do not contribute to the establishment of dialogue.

We deeply regret that our Western colleagues have consistently ignored Pyongyang's repeated calls for the United States to cease its hostile activities in order to open up opportunities for dialogue. Pyongyang's concessions made in 2018 and 2019 and the positive signals it sent were not taken into account. It is precisely because of the United States position that the Council was unable find the strength to respond appropriately and to promote the process of détente.

We are convinced that United Nations and, specifically, Security Council mechanisms should be harnessed to support inter-Korean dialogue and multilateral negotiations, rather than becoming an impediment to them. Only then will it be possible to discuss effective solutions to the problems accumulated in the region, including the nuclear question, on the basis of mutually acceptable agreements.

The further escalation of sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea already goes beyond measures to counter the prohibited missile and nuclear programmes, threatening North Korean citizens with unacceptable socioeconomic and humanitarian upheaval.

This is not the first time that the Council has discussed the need for preventive diplomacy, the importance of finding a politico-diplomatic solution and real steps by Washington that go beyond just promises to establish a substantive dialogue with Pyongyang. Our Western colleagues do not seem prepared to do any of those things. In that regard, we must not expect a miracle. The build-up of military measures by the United States and its allies threatens to further heighten tensions on the Peninsula, which could lead to unpredictable and dangerous consequences for the entire North-East Asia region.

What, then, are our options? In our opinion, our objective today is to ensure that all parties demonstrate restraint and reaffirm, in practice, their readiness to renew dialogue in line with the agreements previously reached and commitments undertaken. The Russian-Chinese political and humanitarian draft resolution

remains on the table, as do other initiatives of our countries, which could really encourage the parties to step up negotiation efforts.

**Mrs. Kamboj** (India): Allow me to begin by thanking Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing and welcoming the Ambassadors of Japan and the Republic of Korea to our meeting today.

In the past, we have expressed our concern at recent ballistic missile launches by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and we now note reports of yet another launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on 2 November. Those follow other launches that took place last month, on which the Security Council also met (see S/PV.9146). Those launches constitute a violation of the resolutions of the Security Council relating to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They affect the peace and security of the region and beyond. India calls for the full implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions relating to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

At the same time, we would like to reiterate the importance of addressing the proliferation of nuclear and missile technologies related to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in our region. The proliferation of nuclear and missile technologies is a matter of concern, as they have an adverse impact on peace and security in the region, including on India.

We reiterate our continued support for denuclearization towards peace and security on the Korean peninsula. Ensuring peace and security on the Korean peninsula is in our collective interest. Going forward, we will continue to support dialogue and diplomacy as the means to resolve the issues on the Korean peninsula.

**The President:** I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of Ghana.

I thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing and welcome the representatives of Japan and the Republic of Korea to our meeting.

This week alone, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has launched over 20 missiles, bringing the total since the beginning of the year to more than 50. Those missile launches, which are unprecedented in scale, frequency, diversity and, in some cases, trajectory, are in clear breach of several Security Council resolutions. Reports that one of the missiles launched this week was

an intercontinental ballistic missile, coupled with the fact that a missile landed very close to South Korean territorial waters, marks a new and dangerous phase of escalation of tensions, with adverse consequences for the peace and security of the Korean peninsula, the region and the world.

Ghana is gravely concerned about the current launches and others before it, which it firmly deplors. Present trends holding, we are just one misunderstanding or one miscalculation away from open confrontation on the peninsula. Surely the Council can no longer turn a blind eye to the possibility of open confrontation on the Korean peninsula. The world is already fragile, and we must ensure that we avert any such possibility. We stand at a critical juncture.

During the Council's previous meeting on the situation last month (see S/PV.9146), many members expressed concern that urgent action was needed to de-escalate tensions on the peninsula and in the wider region. Although the Council could not agree on an acceptable path forward, our future actions should not be divergent. Inaction is not an option. A united and purposeful Security Council is therefore needed.

As a Council, we must call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to take concrete, immediate and urgent steps to refrain from further missile tests and call on all parties to de-escalate the tensions in the region. We must also reiterate our call on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to adhere to the relevant Security Council resolutions and resume constructive and credible dialogue with the relevant parties in a manner that recognizes the regional and global security concerns.

We hope that the Council and other relevant parties will be able to act in a swift manner to disperse the gathering clouds of open confrontation on the Korean peninsula and usher in a climate that preserves the peace, while at the same time ensuring that the humanitarian needs of the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are addressed.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I give the floor to the representative of the Republic of Korea.

**Mr. Hwang** (Republic of Korea): Let me begin by thanking you, Sir, for convening this urgent meeting of

the Security Council. I also thank Assistant Secretary-General Khiari for his briefing.

At the previous public meeting of the Security Council on the matter, held just a month ago (see S/PV.9146), almost every member of the Council urged the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to cease its ongoing provocative actions and to fully abide by the relevant Security Council resolutions. However, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has chosen to completely disregard its obligations and to continue its unlawful provocations.

The Republic of Korea condemns, in the strongest terms, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's record number of missile launches over the past couple of days. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea fired more than seven ballistic missiles and more than 10 other missiles, as well as over 100 rounds of artillery, during half a day alone on 2 November. Among them, there was one extraordinary ballistic missile that flew over the de facto inter-Korean maritime border, the so-called Northern Limit Line, for the first time since the division on the Korean peninsula. That missile fell into the sea just 57 kilometres from the busy Korean city of Sokcho. That was particularly reckless, dangerous and ill-advised behaviour. Pyongyang then launched an ICBM on 3 November. It is especially alarming that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's recent missile launches are directly related to its leader's announced plan to enhance its tactical nuclear warfare capability.

This series of North Korea's provocative acts flagrantly violates multiple Security Council resolutions. It not only poses a significant threat to the Korean peninsula and beyond, but also a serious challenge to the global non-proliferation regime. It is especially deplorable that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is repeating its serious provocations in complete disregard of the Republic of Korea's national mourning period.

Witnessing how the Democratic People's Republic of Korea squanders its scarce resources by blowing up over 50 ballistic missiles in the sky just this year alone, I cannot help asking one question. What are all those launches for, at the expense of the well-being and livelihood of its own people? Some estimates indicate that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea spent tens of millions of dollars on missile launches in a single day, on 2 November, which may have been enough to cover its annual rice imports from China. The Republic

of Korea remains seriously concerned about the dire humanitarian situation and abysmal human rights situation in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

I believe that the continued provocations by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have proved that it is high time to close loopholes and ensure the full implementation of all relevant Security Council resolutions. Our united action is essential to lead the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to engage in serious dialogue. As such, we call on all Members of the United Nations, especially Security Council members, to fully implement the relevant Security Council resolutions.

Pyongyang's escalatory behaviour must finally come to an end, and it must be held accountable for its continued breach of international obligations. In that vein, it is most regrettable that the Security Council, for the first time in responding to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile provocations since 2006, failed to adopt a draft resolution (S/2022/431) in May because of the opposition by two permanent members. The Council's deafening silence on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's countless provocations only further emboldens Pyongyang's reckless behaviour. Sadly, that is exactly what we are witnessing today. The Council must stop sitting idly by and fulfil its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

As you, Mr. President, acknowledged at the press conference on 1 November, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea apparently stands on the verge of its seventh nuclear test. With that in mind, I strongly urge the Council and the international community to raise its united voice and send a clear warning to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea that another nuclear test is simply intolerable and will inevitably met with a very firm response.

Let me be clear: there should be no excuses for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's recent unlawful provocations. We vividly witnessed a series of ballistic missile launches, including multiple ICBMs, by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the first half of this year, in the absence of Republic of Korea-United States joint military exercises. That is a clear demonstration that the false equivalency between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's reckless behaviour and Republic of Korea-United States annual joint exercises, which is occasionally

mentioned by two permanent members, simply does not hold water. We strongly believe that our defensive endeavours in response to the direct military threat from the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are a duty of any responsible Government.

The Republic of Korea would like to reiterate that the door for dialogue remains open despite the Democratic People's Republic of Korea's unprecedented escalatory provocations and threats, and calls on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to return to diplomacy on denuclearization.

**The President:** I now give the floor to the representative of Japan.

**Mr. Ishikane (Japan):** I also thank Mr. Khaled Khiari for his briefing.

I must begin by expressing my great regret that once again the Security Council must convene in response to North Korea's unlawful actions. The repeated and persistent provocations by North Korea are unprecedented in both their frequency and their manner. They pose a grave and imminent threat to the security of the region, including to Japan and the Republic of Korea, and pose a clear and serious challenge to the international community. We strongly condemn North Korea's repeated provocations and violations of Council resolutions. The Council unanimously adopted resolution 2397 (2017) in 2017. The Council decided to take action if North Korea launched an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM).

Yet the Council has failed to act. We all remember the vetoes cast that blocked the Council from taking action in May. What came after that? A record-high number of missile launches in a short period of time, including a ballistic missile flying over Japan for the first time in five years. In response to those actions, the Council met on 5 October, but it could not even issue a press statement, failing again to send a clear message. What came after that? We witnessed a historical array of missile launches, including a possible ICBM launch

this week. One of the ballistic missiles launched on 2 November crossed the Northern Limit Line and landed near the Republic of Korea's territorial waters, which had never happened before.

We must admit that those wilful and repeated violations of Council resolutions followed the Council's long inaction due to the negative attitude of some Council members, which has not allowed the Council to issue a united message and respond effectively. We are facing escalation after the Council's regrettable self-restraint due to its dysfunction. It is the duty of the Council to end this vicious cycle. It is high time to send a united and determined message. The Council should not be just a follower of international affairs, but it should actively shape them through concrete actions.

In its statement at the general debate of the General Assembly this year (see A/77/PV.14), the representative of North Korea clearly stated that it has never recognized such resolutions of the United Nations and would not accept them in the future either. How can the Council turn a blind eye to that blatant challenge to its authority? The Council's own resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, are being disparaged. Are restraints of Council actions an appropriate answer to that? Definitely not.

Let us face the simple facts. Who is violating the rules made by the Council? There is only one factual answer. It is North Korea. Any attempts to justify the reckless and unlawful deeds of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are not convincing. The Council should abide by its own decisions, even if North Korea refuses to do so. The Council's members should fulfil their responsibilities. Let us make crystal-clear the determination of the Council in demanding that North Korea not to conduct any further launches, nuclear tests or any other provocation and that it abide by all relevant resolutions. We should not let the credibility of the Council be eroded by inaction.

*The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.*